1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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787 832 mountain and asked the spirit that appeared to him for a love-medicine which would bring him the woman. Soon after, she would come to him and try to obtain his love, but usually he would reject her, for a time at least, by way of revenge.

A young middle-aged man of the present time is noted for his love-medicine. He tells the following. He was once in love with a woman who only reviled him. For a long time this was on his mind. Constantly thinking of her harsh treatment of him, he fasted in a number of places, and finally received supernatural power. Then the woman came to him. She kissed him on the cheek; but he said, "You have abused me," and he made her go away. Four times she came to him; only the fourth time did he consent to gratify her wishes. Since that time, he has frequently used his medicine. His present wife was living with a white trader, where she had every comfort and great abundance; but by his medicine he made her leave the trader for him. His wife, it would appear, looks upon his powers without jealousy. He sells the use of his medicine to young men for two horses. His young son is crippled, so that he would have difficulty in winning women; but his father is keeping the medicine for him, so that he will be able to possess any woman he desires. The objects used include several medicine-plants. Some of these appear to be used to incense the man who is making the medicine. When a woman is unusually obdurate, wild parsnip (the root supposed to produce the peculiar state of mind of the crazy-dance) is employed by this man. When he begins to exert his influence on a woman, she becomes restless and sexually excited. She leaves the tent frequently, and will cohabit with any man. When the influence of the medicine is removed, she remains faithful to her lover.

[824]

MEDICINES AND PLANTS.

278 757 The following medicines, consisting chiefly of plants, are almost wholly family remedies, and, while no doubt also used by medicine-men, their supposed effects are generally known, and not connected with any personal supernatural experiences of the person using them. As the specimens were secured in winter, it was impossible to obtain material for botanical identification.

Wanonwasöö ("wart-medicine"), a root, is used for stomach-ache (specimen Museum No. 50-1800).

A root called ahaa"tjiiniça" ("wood-like") is used for colic. This seems to be the root of a species of Asclepias (specimen Museum No. 50-1836).

A root called banaö ("red medicine," because it is reddish when fresh) is used for diarrhœa (specimen Museum No. 50-1914).

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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A plant called tyäñänou is used as perfume, as a wash for the hair, and as a minor medicine. Bunches of the plant were used as perfume. A tea boiled of it is thought to make the hair grow while perfuming it. Such a tea is also poured into the nostrils as a remedy for headache (specimen Museum No. 50–1920).

Niibyouäxtjin is used as perfume. The stems and leaves are chewed and applied to the body (specimen Museum No. 50–1853).

Tsaa"sübin is used as perfume. It is chewed, and rubbed on the hair (specimen Museum No. 50-1792).

One ingredient of incense is the callosity from the leg of a horse above the knee. This is cut up fine, and burned with sweet-grass. It is also worn on the body on a string.

Pine-nuts or other conifer-seeds are used for pemmican (specimen Museum No. 50–1913).

For embroidery, dark fibrous water-plants, at"hin (the Arapaho atahina"), are used (specimen Museum No. 50-1891).

Quills are dyed yellow with a solution from a conifer-lichen, no doubt the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, called otsahaa" (specimen Museum No. 50-1873).

TRIBAL CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gros Ventre ceremonial organization is akin to that of the Arapaho with such differences as would be expected from the differences in language and the period of separation of the two tribes. The fundamental feature of this organization, the grouping of men by ages and the observance of a series of a half-dozen ceremonies in order according to age, is common to the two tribes. The ceremonies vary somewhat, and in a few cases their names or order have been changed; but among both tribes there are about six regular consecutive men's ceremonies, one or two that are preliminary or somewhat outside of this series, a single ceremony for women corresponding to those for men, and the sun-dance, which is included by the Indians in the enumeration of their grouped ceremonies, but differs from the others in not being connected with age, or with any society-like association of individuals.

Among the Gros Ventre the dancing-lodge for these ceremonies – which is erected in the centre of the camp-circle, and, like this, opens to the east – is constructed of two large tents. The lodge is open above, and appears to be oval or round in shape. The dancers, before beginning the ceremony, secure old men, who are called their "grandfathers," and are their instruct-

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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796 from this part of the robe. At the end of each of these, a bunch of owl-
[411] feathers, or rather a piece of owl-skin, was attached. The dancers carried bows, to each end of which seven crow-feathers were tied. Down was fastened to the bowstring at several places. At the handle of the bow a strip of bear-skin, owl-feathers, and some sage were fastened with a buck-skin thong. Four arrows accompanied each bow. One had a metal point, which subsequently was made more effective by medicine. The three other arrows were blunt, or had wooden points that had been chewed soft so as to be harmless.

The pledger, and three other men called "brothers" (hinähäbyiitou), who sat apart from the other dancers in the lodge and acted somewhat differently on certain occasions, had bows that were unornamented, except for the down on the string. These four men wore their robes turned so that the hair was outside, whereas the other dancers wore the dressed side out.

[302] All the dancers were painted entirely red. Their hair was daubed with
[824] white paint. They stopped the left ear with a mushroom, such as was used for tinder, and put paint (apparently white) over the ear and the entire left side of the face.

Four young men who would be good workers were selected to be the assistants or servants (atsaan) of this company. They brought wood and water, and performed other services.

[346] The lodge for this dance is described as having been made of travois or tent poles about which tent-skins were drawn. It was open to the east. There was a fire about in the centre. Facing the opening of the lodge was a small partial enclosure or screen constructed on dog-travois. In this were the pledger and his three companions, the "brothers." The dancers are said to have occupied the northern half of the wall in the dancing-lodge; the "grandfathers," behind whom sat the dancers' wives, the southern half. As among the Arapaho, the dancers were divided into two sections; the tall men toward the rear and the short men toward the front, of the lodge. These two divisions competed against each other in the races to follow. The dancers' bows were stood up in the ground in a row just beyond the fire.

During the four days of the dance, the dancers, every morning before sunrise, went to their "grandfathers" to be painted. Apparently they went to their "grandfathers'" tents, and not to the dancing-lodge, for this
[302] purpose. The dancers' wives went with them. They were naked, and
[824] were painted too. No one but the "grandfather" looked at them. Before
788 being painted, the dancers made incense of sage-leaves on burning charcoal. They also rubbed their bodies with fragrant fir or balsam leaves

Crushed and mixed with fat.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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At the end of the recess after the third "crazy singing," the boisterous hilarity gave place to sober seriousness, and the solemn secret instruction and consecration of the new keeper and co-keeper were resumed in the northern section of the double lodge. About this time, too, the new Pipe child came into the lodge, and the heads and faces of the new keeper and co-keeper were uncovered. In general when, during their training, the two were learning by hearing, their heads were covered so they could concentrate their attention on what they heard; while, when learning by seeing, their heads were uncovered. The covering of the head at certain times, as on the march to the keeper's lodge immediately after the previous night's notification and raid and as during the "crazy singing," seems also to have had an "ascetic" purpose, just as the abstention from food and smoking throughout most of this first day had.

The instruction after the "crazy singing" concerned primarily the ritual of smoking the Flat Pipe. Right after the uncovering of the heads of the keeper and co-keeper, the retiring keeper took peppermint leaves and gave some to the new keeper, while the retiring co-keeper did the same, giving some to the new co-keeper. Then each of the four chewed the leaves, spat three times on his or her own hands, rubbed the hands together then with the right palm rubbed his or her own left forearm up to the shoulder and with left palm the right forearm up to the shoulder, and finally with right palm from the mouth up over the face and hair to the occiput,—three rubbing or laving motions in all. This was done three times in succession.

After this peppermint laving came the fumigation or smudging rite. At the word of the retiring keeper the first of the two attendants, to the west of the door, with two sticks as tongs took a lighted buffalo chip from the fire in the center of the lodge and placed it on the incense mound (to be described later), and went back to his place, proceeding clockwise throughout. The retiring keeper then took from the supply alongside him a pinch of dried peppermint leaves in the tips of his five right-hand fingers and crawled on his knees to the incense hearth. There, kneeling squatted on his heels, and facing east, he held his hand, finger tips

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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was reserved to the new keeper), and with tamping by the retiring keeper as it passed him, till it reached the last ex-keeper on the west side of the lodge. Then it was passed clockwise back toward the new keeper, each ex-keeper on the west side smoking it in turn, till it reached the retiring keeper. By this time the tobacco would probably be all smoked up, so he would dump it out by lifting up the Pipe, horizontal and bowl up, to head height, then lowering it still horizontal and bowl up, and finally turning the bowl over,—all this being done very slowly.

Another important part of the transfer rite was the blessing of the person and clothing of the new keeper and co-keeper, but when it occurred, before or after the Pipe smoking, was not cleared up. According to The Boy, "Every part of the new keeper was blessed, even his mouth, that is, his talk was blessed," but we obtained only the following details. The new keeper and co-keeper (and Pipe child) were painted by the retiring keeper on the forehead and under the jawbone and chin as signifying the world above and the earth respectively. The retiring keeper also chewed peppermint leaves and spat upon the two, to signify that they must "quiet down and be good."

The moccasins and feet of the new keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child were treated as follows. The retiring keeper took peppermint leaves in his mouth, chewed them, spat three times on the sole of one moccasin (moccasined foot) of the new keeper, lowered it down in three stages over the smudge of the sacred hearth, and circled it three times around the hearth. Then he took a pinch of poisonous wild parsley (see infra), spat three times on his palms, rubbed the palms together and rubbed the sole of the moccasin with his palm three times from toe to heel. The same treatment was given to the keeper's other moccasin by the retiring keeper, then to the new co-keeper's moccasins by the retiring co-keeper, and lastly to the new Pipe child's moccasins by the retiring keeper. At the end of the whole transfer these blessed moccasins were taken off and put in the Flat Pipe bundle, and were worn only during rites, not as everyday footwear. Every other piece of clothing of the new keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child was blessed with peppermint and fumigation, apparently with a similar rite

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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CHAPTER III

THE FLAT PIPE RITUAL

General Features

Before describing the Flat Pipe rituals in detail, we shall in the interest of clarity take up certain more general features. Some of these are distinctive of the Flat Pipe ritual; others are shared in common with the Feathered Pipe ritual. 788

Distinctive of the Flat Pipe ritual are earth and water or flood association, peppermint, the number three, and rattles. 788 821

As The Boy put it: "The Flat Pipe belongs on the ground, on the surface of the earth, while the Feathered Pipe belongs up above the earth." Or in Coming Daylight's words: "The Flat Pipe comes from the water." The reference here is to the respective origin stories of the two pipes, the Flat Pipe having been given by Earth-maker at the great flood after dry land was made, the Feathered Pipe by Bha'a, the thunder being, during a storm and from the sky. (For details see Nos. 3 and 6 in Appendix.) When the Flat Pipe ceremony was carried out in 1938, the ritual was badly garbled, and the proper offerings were not made. A very destructive flood which shortly after this occurred at Hays where the ceremony was held was attributed to the ill treatment to which the Flat Pipe had just been submitted. The Feathered Pipe is associated with thunderstorms rather than with floods. 823

In conformity with this ground and water association, the ritual plant used for laving, chewing and incensing in the Flat Pipe ritual was peppermint which "comes from the lowlands down on the ground," "from right along the water," in contrast to the use in the Feathered Pipe and other pipe rituals of sweet-pine needles which "come from up in the hills," "from high altitudes." The peppermint used was not "just every peppermint," not that which grows along streams but that which grows around springs. Coming Daylight used to pick it for her uncle when he was keeper of the 788 824

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Flat Pipe. It was dried before being used for ritual purposes. In the olden days the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper had monopolistic control of it in curing. But nowadays a peppermint beverage, good for fits, spasms, and stomach disorder, is used by everybody.

The ritual number of the Flat Pipe is three, whereas that of the Feathered Pipe and the Sacred Lodges is four. Songs are sung three times, ritual gestures are in threes, and so forth. The old people when sitting around smoking socially used often to discuss the reason for this. Some held that Earthmaker sent only three animals down to dive for earth, because, for one reason at least, there were only three animals in the Flat Pipe bundle. Others held he sent four. But regardless of these opposing views on this point in the earthmaking, there was always complete agreement that the Flat Pipe ritual number itself was three, while that in the Feathered Pipe and Sacred Lodge rituals was four.

The musical instrument proper to the Flat Pipe ritual was the rattle (see Plate 1C). The drum, proper to the Feathered Pipe ritual, was not used. In the Flat Pipe ritual, the rattle was shaken clockwise in a sort of circle at breast height, whereas medicine men shook their rattles anti-clockwise and Star Dancers alternately back and forth.[1]

It may be added here that while the Flat Pipe was actually smoked only when it was being ritually transferred to a new keeper and when some individual had vowed to smoke it, and was never danced with, smoking the Feathered Pipe and dancing with it were common.

Among the more significant and more commonly recurring features shared by both the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rituals were clockwise movements, singing, and the use of paint, buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb, and wild parsley.

Entering and leaving the keeper's lodge, ritual gestures, and so forth were consistently clockwise.

Singing bulked large in the Flat Pipe rite, and, for that matter, in nearly every phase of Gros Ventre religious and social life. As Thomas Main put it speaking for himself and The Boy: "We cannot describe how much singing means in the lives of the Gros

[1] For description of Star Dance, see Flannery, 1953, p. 42.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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372 The Flat (and Feathered) Pipe keepers had to keep on hand a good supply of buffalo chips, the proper ritual fuel, as also the common fuel of the people especially when traveling out on the woodless plains. The Boy once asked his father: "Why are buffalo chips used in rites? This does not seem proper." "Buffalo chips," Lame Bull replied, "are plentiful everywhere and burn longest. And they are cleanest: the ashes do not stick to your hands; wood ashes do and are hard to rub off." After the buffalo were exterminated, cattle chips were substituted, but these, as Coming Daylight stated, "have an awful odor when burned, while buffalo chips have none." She used to gather buffalo chips for her uncle when he was Flat Pipe keeper; Cora Chandler used to gather cattle chips when her uncle Curly Head was Feathered Pipe keeper. On one occasion, after the disappearance of the buffalo, Coming Daylight went south with her husband, coming back by way of Yellowstone Park where some buffalo were kept. Here she found some buffalo chips, put them in a sack, and brought them all the way back home to give to Horse Capture, then the Flat Pipe keeper. On arriving home she went to his lodge, "covered the Pipe" with a new robe, and laid the chips at the head of the Pipe.

824 The other plants [besides peppermint] that entered into the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rites were sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley.

Sage was used for the Pipe bed and for other ritual purposes. For the spring Flat Pipe rite at least, only a certain kind of sage (artemisia sp.) was used. Sage was gathered by the co-keeper or one of her children, and could be gotten all the year round, even if in winter only the sticks. According to tradition, the gathering and use of sage for medicinal purposes were in the old days confined to keepers; but in more recent times the people in general have used it, by rubbing themselves with it and smelling it for headache, and by boiling the leaves, especially the top ones, and drinking the infusion for coughs, colds and tuberculosis.

824 773 276 According to the traditional story as told by The Boy, tobacco and tobacco planting came originally to the Gros Ventres from Earthmaker who taught the first man how to plant tobacco, and its cultivation and use have come down in an unbroken line since

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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that time. In the olden days it was only the keeper of the Flat Pipe who planted and harvested it; and for ritual use only.[4] As time went on, the keeper thought to himself: "These older men should have something to pray with when the tribe breaks camp and each band goes its own way." So he said to these older men, each a chief in his own band: "When your bands go their own way you have nothing to use in your prayers. So I am going to distribute some tobacco to each of you for you and your band to use." This he did, and so the use of tobacco began to spread. After this some bands broke away entirely from the Gros Ventres, the original planters and users of tobacco, and became separate tribes and the language changed. The probable order, The Boy thinks, in which they broke away was: first, the Gros Ventres of Dakota,[5] next the Cree, then the Piegan, after this the Crow, and last the Arapaho. He thinks too that the keeper who first distributed tobacco to the bands must have distributed the seed too, for in later years all these people raised their own tobacco.

In the course of time the use of tobacco among the Gros Ventres underwent two important developments, from ritual to recreative and from male to female use.

In earliest days only the keeper and a few old men used tobacco, and used it only ritually. When somebody got sick, the keeper

[4] In 1948 The Boy elaborated on the original planting of tobacco which he had heard Lame Bull discuss many times. "It was virgin soil deep in the forest and they made a woven fence around it so nothing could get in. After the planting, they moved off for hunting and every once in a while the keeper made a ceremonial smoke and prayed to the Supreme Being that the tobacco would grow. After the vegetation began to mature they returned to the plot and the keeper went to look and thanked the Supreme Being in a loud voice that the crop had matured. The tobacco was picked ceremoniously and three plants were always left standing in the plot." There was a plot of ground in the forested area of Canada on which nothing grew and which the Gros Ventres called "Broken Grass." In Lame Bull's time they used to leave offerings there whenever they passed nearby. The Boy and other old men and women believe that this was the site on which the original tobacco was planted under instruction from the Supreme Being. [R.F.]

[5] The original Gros Ventres, according to the same tradition, had no corn. Corn originated among the Gros Ventres of Dakota. [For confirmation of tradition regarding raising of tobacco, see Flannery, 1953, p. 61, n. 12.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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would use tobacco in his prayers for the patient. If the patient survived but was still weak, the keeper made him smoke to get back his strength. So some of the other tribesmen learned to smoke. Gradually social (and recreative) smoking took its place together with ceremonial smoking.

In earlier times, the women never smoked either ritually or socially. Even in rites where they had an important role, such as the inauguration of a new pipe keeper, they did not smoke, as women were considered secondary, not equal to men. Even as late as The Boy's and Thick's early boyhood in the decade before the last buffalo disappeared (1884), only the old women smoked, never the young girls. The spread of the custom among these old women was probably due to their discovery by experience that the smoking prescribed for maladies, such as, chronic headache, was good for the body. But even today, although women smoke non-ritually when alone or among themselves, they are not allowed to smoke at a Pipe rite, and, if wives are present when a man invites a group of men for a social visit or meal and he fills up his pipe to give his guests a smoke, he does not offer the pipe to the wives.

Tobacco was used only in pipe smoking. It was sometimes smoked straight by old men and old women, and by the sick as a cure. But ordinarily the Gros Ventres smoked it mixed either with red willow, as did the Cree and Assiniboine, or preferably, and in the Flat Pipe rites always, with larb.

Larb is "a ground plant that grows on hills and mountains." We could get no specimen for identification. After the tobacco and larb were mixed, a little more larb than tobacco, fat was worked into the mixture to season it. On taking leave from his Gros Ventre friends in 1940 the present author was given a small bag of this mixture as a token of peace and good will and found the mixture a very pleasant aromatic smoke.

The wild parsley, associated with the Flat and Feathered Pipe and with the Crazy Lodge, was used as a powerful poison. It was greatly feared and was spoken of in undertones. Its preparation is a lost art. The whole plant was and is considered poisonous, but poison was prepared principally from the root, which was first

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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High was keeper, he told Al Chandler that one of the sticks in the bundle was already notched on two edges.

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Like the Flat Pipe, the Feathered Pipe also had its own horse, saddle, robe and blankets. The saddle, like a woman's saddle of old times, had two horns from which fringes hung, and a beaded crupper, and was painted red. The horse had to be the best available; no one could ride it, and if it died or was stolen, another had to be provided. The horse had to be very gentle.

Feathered Pipe Ritual

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Certain general features characteristically recur throughout the Feathered Pipe rites, some contrasting with those of the Flat Pipe rites, others common to both cycles.

The following are distinctive of the Feathered Pipe rites: association with air, sky, cloud, rain and storm; sweet pine for smudge; ritual number four; the drum accompaniment for songs; dancing with the Pipe.

The Feathered Pipe, as previously noted, "belongs up above the earth," having been given by Bha'a the storm being and during a violent thunderstorm. In prayer and other ritual it was particularly associated with the sky and storm clouds, with rain and storms.

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For ritual smudge or incense the dried needles of an evergreen, the "sweet pine," nibiya:tə, were exclusively used, in accordance with directions given the original first keeper of the Pipe,—in accordance too with the origin of the Pipe from "up above the earth," for the "sweet pine" tree grows only in high altitudes, up on the hills and mountains. The tree grows in the Rocky Mountains, the Sweet Grass Hills, and Eagle Butte, nearer to the present location of the Gros Ventres. The Boy has seen it growing in only about two places, to about 10 feet high on top of Bird Tail Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains, and to about five feet high with a trunk about four inches in diameter on the top of Mission Peak in the Little Rockies. We were unable to secure specimens for botanical identification. The tree was described as "like a fir," or "special kind of pine." It is presumably *Abies sp.* Ritually the needles were mostly used to make incense, and, only

exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the dried sweet pine needles.

The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, likewise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth. According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head, when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its covering in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it regularly with the songs.[*]

According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle, but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in fulfillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in recent decades by others.

General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

[*] The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

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*796 302 of the two, even the soles of their feet, were painted all over,—in red, at least on the first day. Coming Daylight, although she herself had never joined the Crazy Dance, used to hear that the women would say: "Grandfather, I cannot paint my back. Now you paint my back." The grandfather, according to The Boy, commonly recruited a younger man than himself as helper in the painting and would direct him how to paint the various parts of the couple's bodies. At some time in this painting rite, the grandfather prayed in a short quick way with a pipe for those being painted.

*796 After the couples were painted, all proceeded to the Crazy Dance lodge or corral, the dancers whistling on the way with their bone whistles in their mouths. On arrival at the lodge, the chief vower and the 4 councilors took their places inside the smaller wickiup, or enclosure within the corral, and the rite proper began.

●[824] A smudge was made,—according to The Boy, of a certain large flat or bulbous semispherical mushroom the "fuzz" of which "flies out when it is stepped on,"—a smudge song was sung (but The Boy did not remember the melody), and a solemn prayer was said.

After the prayer came the "feeding" of the badger. Someone would suggest: "Sing the feeding song, so the badger can eat." Then someone would take the badger skin and walk with it clockwise around the lodge, inside between the bows and the outer wall. He walked very very slowly, barely moving, and while he did so song No. 59 was sung. He made the complete circuit four times, and the song was sung once at each circuit. If at any time he were not holding pelt down low enough to the ground, he would be told in backward talk (see infra): "Raise him up!" When at the end of the fourth round he reached the wickiup, he would lay the pelt down. Then song No. 60 was sung, four times in succession, and at the end of each singing the pelt was given a hard blow with a stick by "the old man" (the chief vower's grandfather?). All this singing and striking was done seriously and reverently, without levity. The Boy had asked his father, Lame Bull, the meaning of the blows, but the latter had answered: "I do not know." The two above songs, both wordless, were sung without accompaniment of rattle or drum. The drum note in song No. 60 was introduced by The Boy in his recording merely to represent

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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them (remedies, as infra) in the family." Her mother's sister, Good Singer, had a ghost helper and was also a "real" doctor or medicine woman. Coming Daylight was given by Good Singer three kinds of medicine, including headache and stomach ache medicine to use for her own children and grandchildren. Coming Daylight also was given by her maternal grandmother who "knew all kinds of medicines," three medicines to hasten childbirth, to bring the mother's milk, and to cure stomach ache. Coming Daylight has used these within the family to doctor her children and grandchildren, still had them, and, in accordance with her grandmother's wish that they be passed on, was going to pass them on to her granddaughter whom she reared. If she should use any of these medicines for patients not of her family they would have to pay her, else the medicine would not be effective. 757

One of The Boy's daughters, without quest, perhaps in a dream, was given curing power which she used only within the family. She would treat her mother and the children for pains and aches by pressing and massaging.

Possession of such proprietary herbal and other remedies gotten by gift or dream, with or without quest, and used by non-professionals within the family or other limited circle may have been much more widespread than the above meager field evidence might imply.

Before we pass on to the consideration of curative powers possessed by professional medicine men and women, it may be well at this point to record the ritual observed in the gathering of plants for medicine, whether or not the gatherer possessed supernatural curing power proper. 757 824

This ritual was observed in the gathering of medicinal plants only, not of berries, wild turnips and other plant foods. The proper time to gather medicinal plants, or least some of them, was the fall. Coming Daylight's grandmother told her: "You don't want to pick anything [any herbal curative] until the seeds drop, because it would be like destroying a body." Not everyone had the right to gather medicinal plants, at least not all kinds. Certain herbal curatives at least could be picked only by those who had been given power, through quest or dream or through transfer.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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757 824 Some evil such as sickness or death would befall an unauthorized gatherer. When the right to gather a particular medicinal plant was transferred, the transferrer would take the transferee out and show him or her the growing plant and tell the name.

When a medicinal roof was dug, some offering, such as a bit of tobacco or a necklace of beads, was put in the ground in its place, or in the case of gathering "white medicine" [fungus?], was placed alongside the tree. In making this offering a short prayer was said. The content and wording of the prayer differed from individual to individual: According to The Boy the gatherer would take the bit of tobacco and pray with it, saying, "I am going to use your medicine." "Your" would have reference to the Gros Ventre concept that the medicines while gotten immediately from a bear or rock or other inferior creature came ultimately from the Supreme Being. His name would be mentioned first in the prayer and so acknowledged as the one to whom all things, even these roots, ultimately belonged. The Last Child would be mentioned last and would get some share in the tobacco offered.

According to Singer, "When we take a [medicinal] root, we say: 'I give you this. I am putting something in your place. I didn't take you for nothing!' We talk like we are talking to a person. Most Indians have the same way." Coming Daylight who was present explained: "We are talking to Our Lord and we never leave out the Sun," and apparently the Last Child was included. She further explained on another occasion: "When they dig the [medicinal] root, they have something to put in place of it and they say: 'I am taking this. Have pity on us. Whatever way I may use this [root], may I be successful in my work.' Then they cover over the hole made by extracting the root. It is kind of buying it like." "Then when you have some of this medicine and pass it on, the receiver gives you something for it."

Doctoring Power

756 What kinds of power did professional medicine men and women possess? In attempting to answer it, we wish to emphasize that while certain individuals (such as Stiffarm) who effected cures, were definitely recognized as professional doctors with super-

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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525 789 time. This latter aspect of the belief accorded with the larger Gros Ventre pattern: any acquisition of special supernatural power sought by quest would be apt to lead to shortening of life.

Nevertheless, against the reiterated advice of parents and elders who would so lecture the growing children and of the chiefs and counsellors who would walk around the camp so warning the people, a good many individuals would seek supernatural power, and a few would go out in quest of supernatural gambling power. In some cases such gambling power was sought by a man who had lost heavily or lost his all at the wheel or hand game, as a desperate measure to recoup his losses and to get a new start in his career.

Gambling power was not sought from the Supreme Being, who apparently did not enter at all into the gambling cycle. The appeal to him in the previously given traditional story of gambling for scalps is more a confirmation of than an exception to the rule. Nor was it sought as other power—to be a great warrior or doctor or to acquire wealth or to live long—was sought, by fasting and dreaming on the hill tops. The seeker for gambling power resorted to the brush and timber along watercourses to obtain it from the prairie chickens, [176] or from a ghost. It was more commonly gotten from prairie chickens; but not infrequently from a ghost, not an ancestor of the candidate, at least not necessarily, but, as The Boy put it laughingly, from "any good-natured ghost." This power was gotten for use only in the hand game, not in any other gambling game or sport.

● [824] Usually the seeker looked for a place where wild morning glories formed a sort of bower, "like a little lodge or tipi." It was in there that a ghost was believed to live; the morning glory was called tzek'unθänädzu, "ghost rope" (tzek'ᵇ or tsá·k'ᵃ, "ghost"). The seeker would cry and cry, and when he got sleepy he would crawl into the bower and sleep. Pretty soon a ghost or prairie chicken might ask him: "Why are you punishing yourself so much?" He might answer: "Because I have lost all my belongings." "Is that all? Well, I will help you out," the being or beings would say, and then would give the seeker a song and tell him what rules he must live by and how he must act in the hand game. The person who got such power would not afterwards reveal the details told him by the giver. From the prairie chicken or ghost the person might also get at the same time the power to do marvelous things, such as making an object disappear, swallowing it and then drawing it out of some part of his body, making it go into his skull and come out of his mouth into his hand or go through his veins and come out somewhere else on his person, and so forth (cf. Red Whip story *infra.*)